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ABSTRACT

Highlighting the attributes of community colleges that attract women as students, faculty, and administrators, this paper examines the role of women in these institutions and the societal, educational, and economic trends affecting their participation. First, the mission, philosophy, and attributes of community colleges are discussed, and the argument is presented that access, linkages to the community, low cost, flexibility, adaptiveness to the needs of part-time students, and emphasis on teaching make the community colleges particularly inviting for women. Next, a profile of women community college students is presented, and services to women are examined in eight key areas; i.e., counseling programs/services, academic skills advisement and assessment, vocational and career counseling, financial information assistance, family relations and parenting, job searches, direct services, and academic programs and services. The following three sections examine the participation of women as community college faculty members, administrators, and trustees, emphasizing the advances made by women in these areas, the discrimination that continues to exist, and the personal and structural factors inhibiting women's advancement. The final section discusses the trends likely to affect women's opportunities and achievements in the community colleges in the coming years. (HB)

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THE PROMISE AND REALITY OF WOMEN IN COMMUNITY COLLEGES

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Two and a half million women are enrolled in public and private community colleges, and some 35,000 women are full-time instructors in two-year colleges (Andersen, 1981; Cohen and Brawer, 1982). As many as 70,000 more may hold part-time faculty positions. Administrative positions are occupied by more than 3000 women in community colleges, and nearly 1000 women serve on community college governing boards. That women affect and are affected by junior and community colleges is obvious from these figures.

The impact of two-year colleges for and on women is doubly apparent when comparisons with four-year institutions are made. Forty percent of women enrolled in higher education are enrolled in community colleges, and while the number of women in higher education has doubled since 1965, in community colleges this number has nearly quintupled. Women occupy some 35% of instructional positions in two-year institutions compared to only 23% in four-year colleges (Andersen, 1981). Yet though two-year institutions comprise some 38% of all colleges and universities, only 23% of female presidents are heads of community colleges.

Those figures may be startling to those unfamiliar with community and junior colleges; they may even surprise some who are familiar with them. The purpose of this paper is not to document the importance of these institutions for women, nor the importance of women for them. Rather, the purpose of this paper is to explore the roles of women in community colleges both in theory and in practice. The attributes, philosophy, and mission of public community colleges that make them particularly attractive for women are discussed, as are institutional and normative social barriers that inhibit women from taking full advantage of opportunities offered them as students, faculty, administrators, and trustees. Finally, societal, educational, and economic

trends of the eighties and their potential affect on women in community colleges are discussed.

I

Mission, Philosophy, and Attributes of Community Colleges

Community colleges were established early in this century, but their real expansion occurred during the 1960s and 1970s. A variety of forces prompted rapid growth. Among these were the need for skilled workers; reliance on schools to solve a plethora of social and economic ills; expanded definitions of post-secondary education to include community service and continuing adult education; social and political pressures to increase access to higher education as a vehicle for mobility; and population growth among those 18-22 years of age that made it impossible for four-year colleges, growing though they were, to accommodate all those seeking college educations. Originally emphasizing baccalaureate education for freshmen and sophomores, community colleges rapidly developed a large number of vocational-technical programs offering terminal degrees or certificates. Additionally continuing education--referred to sometimes as non-credit or adult education--and, more recently, remedial-developmental education, have been added to community college portfolios.

The mission of community colleges is, then, heterogeneous. In most states community colleges are expected to provide transfer college programs, vocational-technical degrees and certificates, remedial and developmental education, non-credit or continuing education, and even a loosely defined array of community education programs and services. Generally the mission is defined by the state, though in many instances colleges can shape their own emphases and strengths within the broad educational mission mandated for them.

The heterogeneous mission of community colleges is frequently misunderstood by the general public and by other educators, who apply narrow views of what community colleges are to achieve. Breneman and Nelson (1981) adopt an economic perspective and criticize community colleges because relatively few community college students complete degree or certificate programs or transfer and receive baccalaureate degrees. Karabel (1972) argues that community colleges perpetuate dual historical patterns of class-based tracking and educational inflation. Purporting to provide upward social mobility to their students, in reality community colleges insure that lower-class students will not directly challenge middle and upper class cohorts for real as opposed to nominal achievement and positions.

Just prior to his retirement as president of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, Edmund Gleazer argued that community colleges should reform themselves into the "nexus of a community learning system, relating organizations with educational functions into a complex sufficient to respond to the population's learning needs" (1980, p. 10). Gleazer views community education as the dominant function of community colleges. Another perspective of community colleges is that they are schools where remediation and development of basic skills competencies not gained in elementary or secondary schools can occur; community colleges are expected to compensate for incomplete or unsuccessful learning experiences at lower levels. A fifth perspective is that career education is the dominant function of community colleges, and all programs not directly related to preparing students for vocational placements are frills--add-ons not integral to the essential purposes of community colleges (see Cohen and Brawer, 1982).

Obviously the definition of the mission of community colleges one adopts will shape support for and understanding of various programs and emphases. There are, however, several common general attributes of the various missions

outlined above. One is access: community colleges are designed to promote enrollment by minimizing initial requirements for matriculation and by giving students typically rejected by four-year colleges a chance to prove themselves capable of college work. A second common theme is linkages with the community; proximity to the community, both geographically and philosophically, are important tenets of community college life. Town-gown divisions and ivory tower elitism are alien concepts to community college educators. A third precept, less obvious in the discussion above but clearly a part of community college missions, is low cost. Other than for extreme hardship cases, community college education is generally within the financial reach of all, particularly because of another essential component of community colleges: flexibility and adaptiveness to foster enrollments of part-time students. Originally part-time study was promoted for working adults. More recently homemakers and retirees who have neither the interest nor the time for full-time study have been drawn to community colleges. A final attribute is community colleges' emphasis on teaching. Research and publication receive little attention and few rewards in community colleges (Stecklein and Willie, 1982; Cohen and Brawer, 1982). Neither faculty nor administrators are expected to be "scholars" in the traditional university sense.

These attributes converge in a system of education particularly inviting for women. The next sections of this paper describe women in four roles in community colleges, and the extent to which barriers to their full involvement continue to exist.

II

Women as Students

A major shift in enrollment patterns in community colleges has occurred because of increasing numbers and percentages of women, particularly as

part-time students. In 1970 908,000 women comprised 40% of nearly 2 1/4 million community college students. By 1980 nearly 2 1/2 million women were enrolled in community colleges, compared to 2 million men (Andersen, 1981).

What are the characteristics of women enrolled in community colleges? Examination of the literature about women in higher educaton suggests the following:

-- They are better students than their male peers (Astin, et. al, 1979). Thirty-four percent of women and only 22% of men entering community colleges as freshmen in 1979 had high school averages of A or B+. Conversely 20% of women and 31% of men had high school averages lower than B-.

-- They are likely to be part-time students. In 1970 52% of the women attending community colleges were part-time students. By 1980 this percentage had risen to 64%. In absolute terms the number of female part-time students went from 472,000 to 1.5 million. This compares with a male part-time enrollment of 1.1 million.

-- They are older. Eliason (1977) studied 10 community colleges and found that only 60% of her sample of women students were under 21. Grant and Eiden (1982) indicate that the greatest rate of growth among various groups of college enrollees in the period 1974-1979 was among women and those 35 years and over. Among the latter group there were substantially more women.

-- They continue to enroll in traditionally female fields such as allied health and clerical programs (Cohen and Brawer, 1982). Of associate degrees and other awards based on occupational curricula earned in 1979-80, 88% of health services and paramedical technology awards went to women; 7% in mechanical and engineering technologies went to women. Though women earned 64% of degrees in business and commerce technologies, 41% of these were in secretarial programs (Grant and Eiden, 1982).

-- Older women are likely to be experiencing a mid-life transition such as change in marital status, departure of children from home, economic pressure to enter the labor market, or death of a parent (Holt, 1982; Aslanian and Brickell, 1980).

-- Community college women are drawn from many segments of society; thus many are likely to be "traditional" and have had little exposure to liberal or feminist ideas about women or to have had woman role models (Elovson, 1980).

-- Returning women are likely to experience stress and anxiety resulting from role conflicts as they attempt to balance responsibilities and expectations of themselves and others as wives, mothers, employees, and

friends (Chudwin and Durrant, 1981). Stress is often exacerbated by doubts about their ability to compete effectively with younger students and lack of confidence in their basic academic and study skills (Elovson, 1980).

The mission and attributes of community colleges described above seem to fit well with the needs and concerns of female students, particularly returning women. Open access and ease of enrolling on a part-time basis give women tentative about their committment or abilities an opportunity to enroll in one or two classes without running a gamut of admissions requirements, aptitude or achievement tests, and competition for scarce spaces. Low costs invite women with limited financial resources to enroll. Even for those without financial constraints it is not unusual to feel guilty or uncertain about spending money on their own educations, especially when they are first beginning. Finally, community linkages forged by colleges' aggressive outreach and community services programs mitigate some of the alien veneer colleges and universities sometimes present to those not familiar with them.

The representation of community college women provided above is augmented by student prototypes suggested in the literature. Suchinsky (1982) argues that the older female college student group is actually heterogeneous, and that programs should be differentiated to meet their varied needs. He presents several prototypes of female college students and relates considerations derived from developmental theory to each. The displaced homemaker wrestles with issues of autonomy and personal relationships. The empty nester is also dealing with autonomy and may be reasserting herself after years of raising a family. Complicating her life is that children, though grown, may still be a major factor in her life and at the same time she may be experiencing role reversal by assuming responsibilities for increasingly dependent parents. The blue collar wife is Suchinsky's third prototype. These women often are exhibiting great courage and initiative by entering college, since many come from home environments that denigrated the

value of education for women and prompted women to develop poor self-concepts.

Other prototypes of community college women can also be suggested. College graduates whose liberal arts or teaching degrees afford them few opportunities for employment find vocational programs in fields such as accounting and data processing attractive. These students are insistent about learning and have little patience with casual attitudes displayed by many younger counterparts or less rigorous academic standards than they had expected (Margolis, 1974).

Differentiation among community college women also exists along racial and ethnic lines. Clarke (1980) describes socio-cultural and intrapersonal barriers to success among community college enrolleees who are native Americans, blacks, Hispanics, and international students. The first group is likely to experience cultural conflict and identity crises; they suffer one of the highest attrition rates in higher education. Many blacks cope with a variety of problems, including impoverished backgrounds and poor academic preparation. Out-group feelings and difficulties in communicating to traditional students and faculty contribute to attrition. Hispanics are subdivided into groups whose cultural differences yield variances in their approaches to education, though many suffer from English language deficiencies and have a value system at odds with the value system of many colleges. Finally, international students suffer from language and/or cultural barriers. Often they move in groups, with one person acting as spokesperson.

Schneider and Laury (1981) explored differences in the use of counseling among community college women according to ethnic status. They found that in two large southwestern community college districts Chicano women were proportionately more likely to report they had counseling experiences than black or white women.

A number of practitioners and theorists have written of the need for or described "successful" programs for community college women. Interestingly virtually none of the articles specify criteria for or provide empirical evidence of success. Apparently testimonials, warm feelings, anecdotes, common sense, and wishful thinking merge in a way that enables authors to state with confidence that programs are successful in meeting their objectives and serving the needs of students. Though most programs are open for women--and for men--of all ages, they often focus on older women.

Attempting to classify these programs into mutally exclusive groups is futile; however, for heuristic purposes eight broad categories of programs and services are defined below. At any particular institution orgainizational structure, definition of tasks, personnel skills and interests, budget considerations, and needs and goals of students might blur the somewhat arbitrary boundaries sketched below.

1) Counseling Programs/Services

Drawing upon assessments of the socio-economic status, psychological health and developmental stages of community college women, especially returning students, observers have argued for a variety of counseling programs and services they consider essential to meet the needs of women students. There is general agreement that women need both individual and group support (Cowan, 1979; Blimline, 1979; Holt, 1982). Such support should help women to address concerns that frequently exist among this population: limited self-esteem; role conflict; concern for maintenance of attractiveness and youthfulness; coping with major life transitions; anxiety and ambivalence about moving to greater personal autonomy; and value conflicts between home, culture, and school. Group experiences are particularly valuable for enhancing assertiveness, sharing and learning from those with similar

experiences, developing empathetic networks of peers, and exchanging information.

2) Academic Skills Assessments and Academic Advisement

Academic skills of women in community colleges are varied and the influence of these skills on achievement is mediated by such factors as intense motivation to succeed evidenced by most returning women, pressures fostered by multiple roles, and support from significant-others. It is still the case in this nation that talented females are limited to a greater degree than males with similar academic achievements in attending college because of financial and social-psychological factors (Jensen and Hovey, 1982.) Males who are average or marginal students are more apt to go on to college than comparable females (Grant and Eiden, 1982) and a higher proportion of females aspire to end their educations with no degree or an associate degree than is the case for males. Extrapolating from these findings, it appears that community college women are both better students and less ambitious than their male peers. Academic advisement, then, is important to help women understand that they have the ability to achieve beyond their initial expectations for themselves. This is especially the case for returning women. Anecdotal evidence suggests this group is much more tenative about their basic skills competencies and more likely to voluntarily enroll in refresher or remedial courses to gain confidence than other community college students. They are interested also in programs that teach study skills (Chudwin and Durrant, 1980).

3) Vocational and Career Counseling

That many students attend community colleges to improve their chances to "get a better job" or acquire occupational or technical

skills, or to make more money, is amply documented (Astin, 1979; Cohen and Brawer, 1982). However, these objectives are also voiced by four-year college enrollees; moreover, a sizeable percentage of students who attend community colleges do so for reasons of personal interest (Cohen and Brawer, 1982). Nevertheless, regardless of reasons for enrollment, community college students as a whole need accurate information about vocational and career opportunities.

Community college women continue in channels formulated in high school. They are tracked and track themselves into traditionally female occupations (Cohen and Brawer, 1982; Eliason, 1977; Cunningham, Martin and Miller, 1982; Eliason, et. al., 1979). Many are dismayed, discouraged, or angry that there are few role models among faculty in nontraditional occupations (Eliason, 1977), or that career information on working conditions for women in nontraditional fields is lacking (Fadale, 1982), or that many male vocational educators hold and presumably are influenced by traditional views on women's roles (Cunningham, Martin, and Miller, 1982).

While there is little doubt that channeling women into traditional female occupations still occurs, an irony is apparent when projections about demands for jobs in the next decade are examined. Bureau of Labor Statistics projections indicate that among fields in which demand will be largest are those for secretarial and clerical positions and allied health fields. While feminists and proponents of sex equity urge women to seek nontraditional occupations, job opportunities will probably be greatest in some of the very fields that are traditionally most pink collar.

If government pressure for affirmative action continues at the reduced levels apparent in the Reagan administration women will

continue to be discriminated against in many nontraditional fields; the combination of discrimination and reduced demand might well lead to a period in which those women who did choose nontraditional careers find themselves jobless, while their peers in pink collar occupations are employed. Career and vocational counselors need to temper their advocacy of women in nontraditional careers with realistic appraisals of projected demand and opportunities for women in them. Accurate, unbiased information is essential.

4) Financial Information Assistance

In 1978 average tuition and fees at public two year institutions was $432, one-third less than comparable expenses at public colleges and 45% less than at public universities. The National Center for Education Statistics projects that in absolute dollars average annual community college tuition and fees will be $270 less than at public four-year colleges and as much as $5340 less than tuition and fees at private universities by 1984. The low cost of attending community colleges is obvious, and one of the primary reasons students select these institutions (Cohen and Brawer, 1982). Nonetheless, two-thirds of community college entering freshman women report receiving support of $500 or more from loans, scholarships, or grants. Eliason (1977) found in a survey of students at 10 colleges that 35% of the women were receiving some form of financial aid. Financial aid is an important factor enabling students to attend school.

Obtaining accurate, timely information about financial aid is crucial for returning women (Chudwin and Durrant, 1981), yet information about and policies for financial aid seem often to be geared for full-time young students living at home (Eliason, 1977). Moreover, returning women may be experiencing financial strains due to

changes in marital status or the employment status of spouses. Many are unfamiliar with finances in general, having depended on parents or spouses for income and financial management. They need to learn fundamentals such as how to balance a checkbook as well as more complex topics like credit management and investment strategies. Idiosyncracies of state and federal laws continue to leave many women in unexpected and serious financial difficulties due to divorce, death, or illness. Sometimes this is what propels women to the college in the first place. It is the contention here that community college women will be best served by financial programs and services that combine information about financial aid, budgeting, and investing. Women also need information about the financial implications of career choices (Cowan, 1979).

5) Family Relations and Parenting

A frequent source of stress for women in college and for women who work is the impact this has on their families. That most returning women attend school part-time is because they adjust class schedules and academic workload so as to be available for regular family responsibilities and to cause minimum dislocation to others (Kelly, 1982). Many women contemplating a return to school exhibit apprehension because of fears this will contribute to family breakdown. However, a number of studies have found that returning to study may rejuvenate family relationships (Kelly, 1982; Katz, 1976; Ballmer and Cozby, 1981). Yess (1981) found that being a married woman appeared to place students in an academically advantaged position in four of seven community college programs he studied. Yess contends that evidence supporting the hypothesis that marriages enhances college achievement is inconsistent, but suggests that marriage creates "many propitious circumstances" that facilitate high achievement (p. 107).

Colleges need to provide women with support, information, and counseling enabling them to identify and build upon positive impacts within families of their being students and to cope with difficulties.

6) Job Searches

This set of programs actually encompasses a range of specific activities. They presuppose adequate personal and career counseling have occurred, and that the student has selected an occupation and nearly completed necessary training.

Where institutions have effective placement services or vocational programs have strong links with businesses and industries placement, especially for those in high demand fields, may occur almost without search. In these cases professional ties between the institution and employer are keys to placement, with word of mouth being a critical channel for information and employers bearing the cost of search.

Most students, however, will need to actively seek jobs. Help with resume writing, interviewing techniques, telephone and letter writing tactics, and assessing attributes of a job and corporate culture to evaluate a good "fit" among the person, position, and company is needed. While such programs and services are frequently offered as noncredit workshops or clinics, depending on voluntary attendance, it probably makes sense to incorporate job or industry-specific information into courses taken near the end of a vocational program.

7) Direct services

Probably the direct service that is cited as most imperative for women is low-cost child care (Elovson, 1980). Eliason (1977), reporting on a study of how ten community colleges were responding to surges in female enrollment, reported that daycare for children was often expensive and unsatisfactory, and that "only a small percentage

of two-year colleges have low-cost, on-campus child care programs" (p. 20). Bers (1980) found that 59% of Illinois community college districts offered pre-school or daycare, though the availability of centers at all campuses in each district was not ascertained. There was some association between socio-economic status of the district and provision of daycare services. Districts whose populations ranked lowest in income, educational level and employment in white collar occupations; i.e., least likely to be able to afford alternatives, were also least likely to provide daycare. While the need for daycare has been regarded as a fundamental premise in designing environments conducive for older female students, the extent to which such women actually use these services and require them as prerequisites for enrollment is not known.

A second direct service is that of health care. While not deemed as critical as daycare, observers argue that college services should be redesigned to accomodate needs of an aging student population. Physical health programs or programs that help women confront and understand the phenomenon of aging are recommended (Holt, 1982; Suchinsky, 1982). As is the case with daycare, few empirical data that measure satisfaction with or perceived need for health services by community college women exist.

8) Academic Programs and Instruction

The programs and services cited above can all be considered supports for the core function of community colleges: instruction. But instruction traditionally packaged in 50 minute classes that meet three times per week frequently fails to respond to needs of women, especially returning women. Week-end courses, media-based long distance instruction, weekly courses in shopping centers, and credit

for experiential learning are some common models for offering flexible instruction. But there are other factors in academic programs and instruction that need to be considered. Four are listed below.

Suchinsky (1982) suggests faculty may experience difficulty in dealing with older female students for reasons that may be quite personal. "The motivations, assets, and problems presented by this population have the capacity to touch the emotional life (of the faculty) in ways that those of younger students do not. For, after all, the older student is often their contemporary, and the problems she presents can often resonate with the kinds of struggles the faculty person or administrator is experiencing in his (sic) own emotional life" (p. 31). In some cases instructors are literally young enough to be their students' children; developing an appropriate and comfortable balance of authority may be difficult in these situations, especially when the instructor is insecure about what level of strictness and formality is desirable in the classroom.

A second factor to consider is that for many women, community colleges will provide their only opportunities for exposure to feminist concepts (Elovson, 1980). Should community colleges be developing courses and course modules that present historic and current data, information, and interpretations about women's roles in societies, sex-role development and stereotyping, etc.? In an extensive survey of the literature, complemented by primary research, Elovson (1980) concluded that descriptive statistical data on the number of colleges offering credit and/or non-credit courses whose contents or target groups were women are simply unavailable. Likewise, data on enrollments, types of courses, types of students taking them, and outcomes of courses were not available. Confusion over the terms

"women's programs," "women's studies," and "women's courses" further compound the difficulty in assessing the extent to which studies are offered.

A third factor to consider in looking at academic programs and instruction is the crucial role that female faculty have vis-a-vis students. Eliason (1979) found in her study that contact with role models strongly influenced women's choice of emerging, nontraditional careers and enhanced self images. Not all instructors are familiar with the sociological concept of role models; many view only the academic instruction they provide as having impacts on students. They do not perceive their behavior, attitudes and communicated cues about confidence in themselves have any bearing on their students' career choices or expectations for success.

Finally, sex-role stereotyping continues to occur, conflicting powerfully with overt messages that women's options are open. Eliason (1977) found catalogs, brochures, textbooks, and testing materials claim to portray women in passive traditional roles. There is some evidence this may be changing. For example, a survey of students and staff in a sample of New York two-year institutions revealed that they viewed textbooks and instructional materials as unbiased and nonstereotypical (Fadale, 1982). At the same time, the May 1983 cover of the Community and Junior College Journal, the national magazine of the AACJC, featured a male in a three-piece business suit instructing a uniformed, diffident female. The September edition of the Journal included several angry letters to the editor criticizing the implicit sexist message conveyed by the cover picture.

More and more community colleges are dependent on female students, particularly older students. The section above suggests that while enrollment

of women has grown dramatically, services and appropriate programs to attract more women and to retain those already enrolled may be lagging behind. Clearly, also, there is little empirical evidence that documents the extent to which programs typically defined as important for women really make a difference in enrollment, satisfaction, or educational outcomes. Perhaps enrollment growth would have occurred anyway. Perhaps the alleged need for such programs is less need as perceived and articulated by students than need as defined by staff and faculty, largely female themselves.

Reality indicates women comprise a growing majority of community college enrollments. At the same time the promise of comprehensive and appropriate support services, an egalitarian academic world, and well paying nontraditional careers for many, has not been realized.

Women as Faculty

In 1980 two-year colleges employed nearly 239,000 instructors, 44% on a full-time basis. Women comprised some 34% of full-time instructors at public two-year institutions and nearly half the full-time faculty in private colleges (Cohen and Brawer, 1982; Andersen, 1981). Thus nearly 40,000 women hold full-time faculty positions, and another 70,000 or so hold part-time appointments in two-year institutions.

Astin and Snyder (1982) looked at women faculty and administrators at 92 institutions, including 12 two-year colleges. They found the percentage increase of women between 1972 and 1980 was nearly the same in 2-year and 4-year colleges and in universities, and that community colleges had the smallest change in the percent of women among the newly hired in these years. In absolute percentages, however, community colleges in their sample had the highest percentage of women academics in 1972 and in 1980 (22.1% and 25.7%) and among the newly hired in those years (29.4% in 1972 and 31.1% in 1980).

In contrast there is some evidence that the number and percentage of male faculty members is actually increasing in some areas. Stecklein and Willie (1982) found in Minnesota the proportion of males teaching in community colleges rose from 70 to 75% between 1956 and 1980, while in four-year colleges in that state the proportion remained at 73% in both periods. In Illinois the proportion of female full-time faculty in community colleges rose minimally, from 34.5 to 34.9% between 1975 and 1981 (Illinois Board of Higher Education, 1983).

While women hold proportionately more faculty positions in community than in 4-year colleges or universities, they are, as a group, at the bottom of the salary ladder (Astin and Snyder, 1982). In 1972 women community college faculty and administrators earned 81.4% of what their male colleagues did. In 1980 they earned 81.9%; in absolute terms the differential rose from $2350 to $3587 in this period (Astin and Snyder, 1982).

Cohen and Brawer, in a 1975 study of a nationwide sample of humanities instructors in community colleges, found one-third of the 1493 instructors were women. Women were overrepresented in art, foreign languages, and literature, while in 7 other humanities disciplines they were less than 33% of the sample. That women were younger and occupied proportionately more positions in newer colleges (43% in institutions built between 1970 and 1975) leads Cohen and Brawer to suggest affirmative action policies were having some effect. In general few differences between men and women humanities instructors were found regarding rankings of relationships to significant others, support for more required humanities courses in occupational programs, desired outcomes for students, attraction of alternative positions, and professional reading and organization membership (Brawer, 1977).

The primary role of community college faculty is teaching. Stecklein and Willie (1982) found Minnesota community college faculty spent about 80% of

their time on activities associated with teaching. Cohen and Brawer (1982) also note teaching as the dominant role community college faculty seek. Apparently they want to perform all elements of teaching--"interact with students, dispense information, stimulate, inspire, tutor...through personal interaction" (p.78). Though faculty say they want more participation in institutional management they shun committee and administrative work.

There are many reasons why women seem to achieve greater success, as measured by smaller male-female earnings gaps and a larger proportion of positions, in community colleges compared to 4-year institutions.

Many aspects of the role of community college faculty member are consistent with sociological and political analyses of women. Once hired, community college faculty typically advance along explicit rank and salary schedules that reward length of service and advanced degrees. Evaluations based on professional service and publications are virtually unknown, and evaluations that purport to improve instruction are mostly ineffective and ignored. Overt and covert discrimination against women in higher education that inhibit professional achievements through publication or presentations at professional conferences are well documented (Astin and Bayer, 1979). For community college faculty this type of discrimination is mostly irrelevant except for the small handful who seek personal gratification and development through a kind of professionalism foreign to most community college instructors.

According to Price (1981) female community college teachers have the prestige of teaching at the college level without the demands of teaching and research. They have power in the classroom and autonomy in curriculum planning. Choice of working hours, long vacations, possibly summers off, and "the comfort of a job long recognized as 'proper' for women, while working in postsecondary teaching..." further enhance the job. Yet Price goes on to

point out that women also carry little academic power, and are treated unequally compared to men.

Another factor influencing women's relative success as community college faculty is suggested by Fox and Favor (1981). By investigating gender differences in achievement and aspiration among academic-career aspirants through data gathered from Ph.D. students at a major midwestern university, they found that sex-differential job opportunity structures influence aspiration-achievement relationships. Women are more likely to find achievement leads to service and support, while men's early achievements are more likely to lead to traditional rewards of wealth, power, and prestige. Fox and Favor hypothesize that women modify their aspirations to "fit" opportunities. Subtle discriminat on in graduate school may well channel women away from seeking competitive research and teaching positions. And as young women see their older colleagues not attaining such jobs they adjust their aspirations as well. The concept of goal adjustment based on perceived opportunities was explicated in more detail by Kanter (1977).

While data present a relatively favorable perspective on women's place as community college faculty members, discriminatory practices still exist. Price (1981) lists eight areas that are indicative of this.

1. Women are underrepresented in science and in the vocational-technical faculties.
2. Women are concentrated in lower paying jobs.
3. Women are discriminated against in pension plans [recent Court rulings are affecting this].
4. Women perceive themselves as less able than men to move into administrative positions.
5. Women's studies programs frequently have to fight for survival.
6. More women than men hold part-time faculty positions that rarely provide professional status or benefits.

7. Women who marry often carry the major responsibility for running the home.

8. Women generally bear the burden of their sexuality more than men do theirs.

An interesting perspective on subtle sexism and discrimination against women in higher education is provided by Rieke (1982). After leaving his position as a communications department chair he conducted a series of interviews with academic women and discovered a variety of forms of sexual oppression. He found men skilled in dominating women through a variety of techniques. One was to routinely and casually interrupt meetings between two women faculty members but refuse to intercede when meetings included a male colleague. Excluding women from mentoring male groups and simultaneously criticizing them for developing ties with female colleagues was another technique noted. Riecke reports that intimate relationships between male and female colleagues frequently rebounded against the female in her professional life. Particularly at the end of an affair or if a women refuses intimate ties, condemnation often follows. Having to "play mother," being ignored, or being referred to by such terms as "babe" or "broad" are further forms of sexism noted by Rieke.

While, women as faculty in community colleges have achieved some progress towards equity, erratic application of nondiscriminatory laws, psycho-social norms and family role expectations, and covert as well as overt forms of discrimination continue to inhibit their achieving parity.

Women as Administrators

Analysis of data collected by the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges indicates that some six years ago women comprised 21% of the 15,500 administrators in two-year colleges (Eliason, 1977). Two-thirds of the women were clustered in 13 states and Puerto Rico, while 19 states had 20 or

fewer women administrators. National statistics show that in the fall of 1976 women occupied 26% of executive, administrative and managerial positions in all institutions of higher education, but a study of 514 colleges and universities for the College and University Personnel Association showed that women and minorities occupied only 22.9% of administrative jobs in 1978-79, compared to 19.4% three years earlier. Variances in the definition of administrative, managerial and/or executive jobs and differences in samples undoubtedly explain some of the differences reported here.

However samples and definitions change, data indicate women hold fewer than 30% of administrative jobs in higher education, and the same story holds for two-year institutions as well. In Illinois, for example, 29% of executive/administrative/managerial positions in 1981 were held by women; this is nearly double the percent of positions held by women in 1975. In absolute terms, 199 new administrative positions were created in this time period, and 184 more administrative positions were occupied by women in 1981 than six years earlier.

Women administrators tend to hold a limited range of positions. Most frequently they are in student services, continuing education, personnel, public relations, bookstore managers or affirmative action officers. In academic areas they are deans or directors of nursing or, in community colleges, secretarial sciences (Eliason, 1977; Chronicle of Higher Education, February 3, 1982).

Women administrators also earn less than men. A study of administrative salaries in higher education conducted by NCUPA revealed that in 1981 males' median salaries were higher than women's in all but 5 of the 87 job categories reviewed (Chronicle of Higher Education, March 10, 1982). Illinois data for 1981 indicate that though women comprise 29% of the administrators in community colleges, women were only 23% of all administrators earning above

$30,000. Chapman (1983) found that among college admissions officers being male contributed as much as $3248 to salary after controlling for institutional factors, personal characteristics, and race. He suggests a reward structure that discriminates by sex is pervasive in higher education. While Chapman does not provide data for community colleges alone, it is obvious from his tables that the influence of sex on admissions officials' salaries does exist at community colleges.

The most visible administrative position is, of course, the presidency. As of fall 1980 there were 219 institutions of higher education headed by women in this country. Seventy-four were two-year institutions, 33 private and 41 public. According to Emily Taylor, former director of the American Council on Education's Office of Women in Higher Education, "In terms of numbers, no type of postsecondary institution has exceeded the community colleges' 200 percent gain in women presidents during the past five years" [to 1980] (Taylor, 1981). But given that there are more than 1200 community colleges, the percent headed by women is still pitifully small. Moreover, by 1982 244 colleges were headed by a woman, and the number of woman presidents of community colleges had slipped to 56.

A number of articles and studies have dentified barriers that inhibit women from obtaining and advancing in administrative positions. Two common themes are identified: personal characteristics, motivation, and behavior; and societal and structural obstacles that impede opportunities and success (DiNitto, Martin, and Harrison, 1982; Moore, 1981). The main elements of each theme are briefly described below.

Personal. Breyer and Zalupski (1981) argue that women concentrate too much on the pursuit of personal perfection rather than establishing career directions and strategies. Feuers (1981), herself a community college president, says that women must be willing to take risks and to lose as well as win some positions. Eaton (1981), another president, argues women need to perceive themselves as winners, and to shift from a mentality of trying to one

of having. Women who want advancement are often reluctant to make this known, expecting that high quality performance is enough to bring them to the attention of others. Women are said to focus on process rather than product, are inexperienced at team work, and are critical of flexibility as bordering on dishonesty or opportunism (Hennig and Jardin, 1977). They also typically have greater responsibilities for home and child care than men. Though feminists rage against this, the reality is that cultural norms and the physical and emotional needs of families merge as powerful forces affecting the ability of women to seek and obtain administrative roles.

Villadsen and Tack (1981) assessed various strategies women administrators in higher education have developed in managing their lives. Among strategies they found were compartmentalization of time between home and work; delegation and sharing of household operations tasks; lowered housekeeping standards; physical activity as a coping mechanism; delaying writing for publication; postponing continuing education; neglecting maintenance and development of good friendships; and eliminating vacations.

Eaton (1981) suggests that women learn to recognize the power of their sexuality as it affects achieving goals, and to enhance their physical and emotional attractiveness. She argues that the way in which women handle themselves is as important as their political and technical skills.

Clearly, a discussion of personal attributes influencing women as administrators is a book in itself. What is important here is to note this as one theme in the literature about women, and to suggest that women who aspire to administrative leadership must confront their own norms and expectations for themselves as well as the actual demands made on them by families and friends. It seems the myth of superwoman--so popular in the 1970s--is being challenged by women's own experiences and the difficulty of living up to those unrealistic expectations.

Structural. Kanter (1977) argues that organizations inhibit women's advancement because they are minorities, not because of sex. Regardless of the validity of this thesis, women need to understand ways in which "the system" imposes limitations on their achievements. At the same, there are steps women can take to moderate the effects of structural discrimination.

What are some structural and systemic barriers to women's advancement? Following is a suggested, albeit not exhaustive, list culled from the literature.

1. Exclusion of women from the male networking process, cited as the number one barrier according to report released by the Women's College Coalition (Chronicle of Higher Education, June 30, 1982).

2. Vested interests of men in retaining authority and management positions because they are comfortable with those most similar to themselves (Kanter, 1977; Eaton, 1981).

3. Sexual harrassment that is implicitly condoned by the environment because it is difficult to define, more difficult to prove and sanction, and embarrassing to everyone (Eaton, 1981).

4. Board of trustee reluctance to appoint women to presidencies (Chronicle of Higher Education, June 30, 1982).

5. Relaxation of government pressure to comply with affirmative action guidelines.

6. The political nature of the process to achieve higher echelon positions in higher education and consequent discounting of "objective" or "achievement-based" characteristics as criteria for advancement (DiNitto, et. al., 1982).

7. Rigidity and traditionalism in credentials reviews that discount unusual or atypical career paths. While recent literature suggests there is no single path to the presidency (Moore, et. al., 1983), it is probably in spite of rather than because of nontraditional paths that individuals obtain leadership positions.

8. Permeability of boundaries between colleges, society, and the environment that forces external values to be reflected in internal structures and processes. According to DiNitto, et. al. (1982) "women are disadvantaged inside universities and colleges becuase they are disadvantaged outside them" (p. 38).

What can women do to improve their access and opportunities for academic leadership positions in community colleges? A number of commentators offer suggestions (Eaton, 1981; Taylor, 1981; Moore, 1981; Ernst, 1982; DiNitto, et. al., 1982; Feuers, 1981; Breyer and Zalupski, 1981). Their suggestions are both general and specific. I suggest they can be summarized into these condensed admonitions:

- Learn the politics and informal rules of the game, because people, not policies or organization charts, are what really make things happen.
- Assess your own goals and values, and identify the constraints that you choose to operate within; then don't make excuses or apologies.
- Put yourself forward and make yourself visible; quiet perfection will do you little good.
- Use informal contacts and networks of men and women; remember that men still dominate decision-making
- Be entrepreneurial; current jobs may still have lots of room for expansion; Job descriptions are foundations on which to build, not fences to contain.
- Understand that barriers to advancement exist and solutions need to be found at multiple levels: individual, organizational, and societal. Test all levels to find opportunities for change.

Women as Trustees

In 1977 987 women served as trustees of public and private community colleges, 18% of the 5550 individuals serving on such boards (Eliason, 1977). In the public sector the percentage of woman trustees is only 15%. In a majority of cases trustees are members of non-partisan lay boards elected by residents of the local college district (Nason, 1974).

In theory the community college governing board is a bridge between college and community, translating community needs for education into college policies and protecting the college from unreasonable external demands, (Cohen and Brawer, 1982). Legally responsible for college affairs as public corporations, the degree to which boards actually involve themselves in college policies and practices varies. In some states powerful state boards or commissions are the real regulating force for community colleges.

Little has been written about women on college boards. Rauh (1969) argues that while women trustees of colleges and universities generally have less experience than men in areas such as finance and physical facilities management, they "more than compensate in their understanding of educational and student issues" (p. 101). Heilbron (1973) suggests that women on college boards tend to be more liberal than men on issues of morals and mores and help to balance the "male outlook." Bers (1978) found that among Illinois trustees women were little different than male colleagues in demographic characteristics or in political and educational opinions.

Both Rauh and Heilbron based their comments on subjective analyses, and both wrote before any real impacts of the woman's movement might have influenced the selection or opinions of female college trustees.

Smith (1976), a community college trustee, states that the adjective "woman" follows a female board member regardless of how little she deviates from males. She goes on in this and a later article (1981) to enunciate several special attributes a woman can bring to boards:

1. Provided she has qualities society assigns to women--kindness, consideration, empathy--she can bring a different perspective to the board.
2. She can help other women.
3. She can change people's attitudes by changing their experiences in working with women.
4. She can be a role model, and is most effective at this the more effective she is as a trustee

The vast literature about women, higher education, and politics contains virtually no studies that investigate the relationships between women on boards, advancement of women at their institutions, perceptions and behavior of woman trustees regarding their commitment (or lack thereof) to women, or influence of board women on curricula and policies for women students.

Feminists argue women ought to hold a larger share of positions of authority; potentially boards do have authority, especially when they exercise their primary task--selecting a president. In the absence of analyses of women on boards the reality of their influence can only be hypothesized.

III

Trends

A number of educational, societal, and economic trends are likely to affect women's opportunities and achievements in community colleges in the eighties and beyond. In 1975 Martorana and Kuhns (1977) identified 10 forces shaping the long-range future of community colleges. These were:

1. The changing pattern of persons enrolled as students in postsecondary education.
2. The concept of a planning approach that emphasizes a "market model" with postsecondary institutions engaging in intense competition for students.
3. Growing recognition of the concept of "communiversity education," strengthened by regionalization and consortia to coordinate allocation of resources.
4. Growing competition among many education delivery systems for students.
5. Dramatic developments in insructional technology and methodology.
6. Increasing propensity of the public to question the worth of advanced education.
7. Growing litigiousness of students, parents, and the public.
8. Growing competition among public services for tax dollars.
9. Faculty response to unionizations.
10. Increased state and federal positions of control and influence.

Most of these forces continue in effect today.

More recently Naisbitt (1982) identified ten new megatrends he claims are

restructuring American society. While the exact details of each trend are only now emerging--and Naisbitt may be wrong about some--he argues that changes occuring will profoundly affect our inner and outer lives.

A number of Naisbitt's megatrends may impact community colleges directly, and already colleges are developing emphases and programs that address the issues encompassed by the changes Naisbitt notes. For example, colleges are attempting to expand their international programs and to help students understand and prepare them to work within a global economy; colleges are expanding the workshops and seminars they are offering to help people evaluate and make appropriate choices for themselves in what Naisbitt calls a "free-wheeling multiple option society;" and networks of women in and between colleges are being strengthened to complement high technology endeavors that Neisbitt argues can dehumanize institutions.

Another trend is the shift between supply and demand for college graduates. Bureau of Labor Statistics data indicate there will be a gap between the number of jobs available for college graduates and the number of graduates available for jobs (Whitelaw, 1983). The Chicago Sun-Times recently characterized this as a "job gap," and provided data indicating that as many as 40% of college graduates hold jobs for which their degrees and training are unnecessary. Industrial relations analysts believe cyclical unemployment may well become the norm for white collar workers and professionals; this will be a profound and shocking change for a population socialized to believe that education will provide them with jobs throughout their lifetimes.

A trend not presaged by Martorana and Kuhns is increasing national attention on issues of quality in education; inadequate training in mathematics, science, and technology; and concern that even college graduates may be deficient in basic computational and writing skills. Many recommendations to remedy these perceived defects focus on elementary and

postsecondary education: longer hours, merit pay for teachers, lengthened calendars. In the immediate future several national debates and conflicts are likely. One will be whether such remedies can work, should be instituted, and by whom should additional costs be borne. The second will be over the correct level of education to remediate deficient students and to provide training. In the shortrun this may well pit secondary and higher education against one another for their share of public education dollars. Resolution of this debate may also force shifts in the pattern of faculty positions by discipline, with remedial education, science, and mathematics instructors displacing humanities and social science colleagues.

Another trend affecting community colleges is the growing number and percentage of women in the labor force. Projections are that through 1995 16.5 million women will have entered the labor force, two-thirds of the anticipated total increase. More than 6 out of 10 women of working age will be in the labor force in that year, according to projections (Ehrenhalt, 1983). Training and education provided at community and four-year colleges will be both cause and effect of this increase. Employed women will seek additional training and education to expand their alternatives and obtain higher level positions, and women planning to enter the job market will seek training for entry-level jobs.

Another trend, already well underway, is increasing vocationalism among students, with consequent enrollment shifts that threaten traditional liberal arts courses and programs. Since female faculty are overrepresented in humanities and liberal arts, declining enrollments in these areas will disproportionately affect women faculty.

Still another area that will affect women is consideration of "comparable worth" as a legal basis for determining discriminatory pay practices. Though not yet definitively determined by the courts, a number of cases are pending.

The issue of comparable worth involves a requirement to pay equal wages for jobs of comparable value to the employer. In its broadest sense it includes comparing quite dissimilar jobs; even a restricted interpretation will impact colleges, as teachers of English and teachers of computer science, admittedly very different in supply and demand, are considered of equal value and hence eligible for equal compensation. Even if back pay is not mandated, current and future compensation adjustments may well force colleges to reallocate resources to comply. While women will probably be the beneficiaries of this, the extent to which colleges are forced to retrench or curtail hiring will impact all faculty. And if seniority is used as the criteria for reducing faculty, women and minorities will be most affected.

Another trend may be the relaxation of government pressure to comply with affirmative action and other nondiscriminatory guidelines. Certainly if Reagan is reelected in 1984 the reduced pressure evidenced in the beginning years of this decade will be likely to continue.

The declining number of 18-22 years olds in the population has already prompted fierce competition among colleges, exacerbated also by increasing costs that constrain options for many students who are ineligible for financial aid or who do not wish to incur the burden of large loans. As colleges compete for a shrinking supply of students they already have developed a variety of programs to attract nontraditional students--older students, part-time students, long-distance learners, students with substantial academic deficiences and language problems. For community colleges this means that segments of the population who in prior years were "theirs" by default must be wooed in a climate of strong competition.

The outcome of these trends is uncertain. For women opportunities fostered by one may be offset by obstacles prompted by another. Community colleges have provided and continue to provide opportunities for women as

students, faculty, administrators, and trustees. The promise that women will attain a share of power, authority, and achievement commensurate with their numbers in the population has not yet been realized. As the most egalitarian segment of higher education community colleges have been more open than most institutions for women, yet societal norms, economic realities, and old-fashioned sexism continue to affect women.

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